Mr Wm Lloyd Garrison

Present

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showing the people these facts, to proceed in so summary a way, to deny any proper, or just or Christian motives, to the persons who hold that slavery is not upheld by the constitution of our country? for one I think not. For one I will say I can but regret, pity, not to say condemn such & others who think with me a course of action. You may call me blinded, deceived, if you please, but when you call me & others traitors, to the slave, you know we where you affirm.

Let me here add, that those who for our constitution, aware that there might be imperfections in it have provided for its own amendment, & if you, or any one else, can get a majority of the people of this country, in the several states, to be of your, or their way of thinking, it may be made, a non-resistance document; a woman's rights document, or a pro-slavery document, neither of which, however, does it at present, according to my way of thinking profess to be; of this fact, Mr Foster at the State house at the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, appeared to be ignorant; the men of that age presumed that they were fallible, for my own part, I have had no reason to revise such a judgement, in observing the character of the men of this age

Yours truly

G. W. F. Mellen

to be secure," nor that any "person" should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." hereby acknowledging these inalienable rights, which she had before acknowledged in the Declaration of Independence & which satisfied the North, she at the time & thereby giving the writ of Habeas Corpus & the action of Assault & Battery to every person in the country was sincere in her actions. I, therefore, & the person perpetrating them cannot be slaves. ~~repeat it as my firmly~~ the north is not bound to suppress an insurrection of slaves at the south, but, that the South must first give to her people those inalienable rights, which she has before the world solemnly acknowledged, & that alone, can be called a true insurrection, that would take those rights away, as it should be so construed under our present constitution. This is the stand, I for one should take. It is the stand, if I can judge from the resolutions, that were passed by the very large & respectable convention of the Liberty party, numbering among its members, many, whom you have delighted to honor, which not a short time since in this city, that was taken, by that convention, as their sentiments, & which may now be considered the sentiments of the Liberty party in this State, & which numbered at the last election nearly 9000 strong. ~~I now therefore ask of you if it is~~ I now, therefore, ask of you, is it right? is it moral? after, having so carefully excluded all argument, in your paper of the 9 of the Standard

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& the pursuit of happiness", which virtually gave liberty to every slave within her territory, according not only to a righteous judgement, but according to the opinion of the Judges of the State of Massachusetts, & without going, at this time, into further considerations, the Constitution as proposed by the National Convention, was not accepted by the people of the Country, without an understanding it should be amended; even even Hancock & Sam Adams, now among the number, wished its amendment, & it was amended, & the South agreed; that "The rights of the people, not of "freemen", only, but the people, in the broadest & most extensive sense; - for the convention of Virginia & North Carolina, wished it to be confined to freemen, & the congress of the United States, would not do so, even Mr Madison, the Representative of Virginia would not even propose to have this rights limited to freemen, although he did propose to have it extend to the people. I say, therefore, that the South agreed by the Constitution, & so long as she adopts it, that "The rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, & effects, against unreasonable searches & seizures, shall not be violated; & no warrant shall be issued ipso, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, & particularly describing the place to be searched, & the persons or things

& when prepared, has to retreat ~~behind~~ within the moral fort of a compact, which upon inspection, has neither a picket, a gate or any defence, which will withstand a single assault; but so long, as they can amuse the public & throw around them an enchanting nothing; or, their manly voice, to blind the eyes of an unthinking, or an enchanting community, they gain their end, & little care they by what means it is done.

Let me here say to you, & through you, to the public that I construe the constitution of our country to mean, & I believe, not to say, I know, that the facts in history will bear me out in the assertion, that I am not bound, ~~to return~~ under the constitution, to return the runaway slave, neither am I bound, to go to the South to suppress an insurrection of Slaves. I grant, I am bound to go to the South to suppress an insurrection, of freemen; but, distinctly, not of Slaves. You will probably start with astonishment! ~~I say?~~ But The reasons ~~in~~ these, the South, as Gov. Briggs said, in his inaugural address, in the first place, adopted the declaration of Independence as the sentiments which were to govern her, in the contest with Great Britain, thereby, acknowledging the self evident truth, that "All men have an inalienable right to life, liberty,

of the Amer. Anti-Slavery Society, that has been held in this city, & four or five times have I done it, at the meetings of the Kindred Society in the City of New York, & you know, also, as well as I do, that so often, as I have attempted to speak on this subject, the gag has attempted to be applied, & every argument that has been brought forward, ~~has been~~ or speech that has been made on the subject has been carefully suppressed. So that the evidences from history, that have been brought forward to sustain the position, that I & others have taken, have not been brought before the general reader, so as to enable persons, who are not conversant with the secluded records of the doings of the persons, who formed our constitution, to be judges of the truth. While the present pro-slavery feeling of the country, & the present pro-slavery decisions of our courts, are blazoned abroad on the wings of every pro-slavery press, & the I have thought the very ~~that~~ have been declaring, Let me further express, my surprise, that our Anti-Slavery friends have not suspected the truth of the assertions, of the slaveholder, when he in general terms, says he holds slaves under the sanction of the constitution, when he never yet has pointed out a single passage in that constitution, where it can be found

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if it is honorable? is it just? Particularly, I will ask of you, is it honorable, when for the past nine years, you have carefully excluded from your paper, every argument, which has been advanced to show the contrary opinion, or even to let your readers know, but in one or two instances, that such opinions were held, the only two instances, which I can now call to mind, was one in the notice of my book, wherein you said I had brought forward a "mass" of evidence, that slavery could not be justified by the Constitution; the other was, in the fact, you admitted to your columns, a communication of mine, in answer to the Editor of the Boston Morning Post, who took exception to my book, not on account of any defect in the argument, which he could point out; but to a fact, that I ascerted that slavery from being considered a great evil, had become to be felt by the community, as one of the "greatest good." You also may have noticed, Mr Calhoun's argument, but of this I do not recollect.

Now it is well known to you, that for the past nine years, that I have spoken more or less on this subject, at every one of the New-England Conventions, that have been held in this City, during that time, I almost at every one of the meetings

Calhoun

Boston, March 9 1844.

Mr Wm Lloyd Garrison

Dr Sir;

Enclosed is a communication, which I trust you will admit into the Columns of the Liberator. It is not written with a feeling but that of sorrow, that any occasion, should be given for such a communication; but truth & justice both require, according to my judgement that it should be published, & should be published by you, & I would further say, I cannot; but think, that the resolution which has called forth these remarks, should at once be reconsidered, & be indefinitely postponed at some future convention. If my time, would afford it, & I trust in the course of the Spring, or Summer, I can be absent from my business, I should much like to attend many of the conventions, that may be held. but for truth sake, do not let your conventions be used for such scandalous purposes Yours truly

G. W. F. Mellen

P.S. "I judge not that ye be not judged: for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be measured to you again."